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Hamm, a three and a half hour trip. From there I motored to Oelde, where the Diplomatic Corps had been invited for dinner before President Heuss' shooting party tomorrow.

About 25 members of the Corps stayed at the Bahnhofshotel, a small commercial travelers' hostelry full of smoke, wine and beer fumes and jollity. The President presided over the dinner table and then we spent several hours drinking coffee and alcohols. Heuss sent for most of us individually and plied us with selections from his large store of amusing reminiscences. He is full of humor and a fine old man. In spite of the asthma which nearly carried him off last spring, he remains a chain cigar smoker.

Saturday, December 7, 1957

We took the field at nine o'clock this morning on some property where pheasants had been reared. There were about 50 beaters, numerous guards and gamekeepers. There was also a small contingent of musicians who blew lustily on their horns to start us off. Besides the members of the Diplomatic Corps, there were five or six German gunners, friends of the President. The Chief of Protocol was there and was ~~very~~ helpful in organizing the crowd. I have never shot before in such a numerous company, and it is a wonder that not one of us was added during the day to the game bag. At times we were stationed only about 30 feet apart.

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In the first two drives, there were a lot of pheasants. Afterwards, we shot hares and, at the end of the day, had two more pheasant drives, making a total of seven in all. At one point we surrounded a huge field, spread out in the beginning in elliptical form, and finally converged upon some badly frightened hares.

The shoot was admirably conducted, especially in view of the fact that many of the guns were inexperienced, several of them having not fired a shot for ten years.

We had lunch in a picturesque old nunnery on the standard dish for such occasions, bowl after bowl of thick pea soup with chopped-up potatoes and sausages. This was preceded and followed by schnapps and beer.

It rained hard during the afternoon and finally snow fell. Thoroughly wet, we returned once again to where we had lunched, and there had round after round of sandwiches and brandy. After dark, torches were borne into the courtyard where the game was laid out, and the trumpeteers sounded a requiem for each species, including a fox which had wandered into the field of fire. The result for the day was 135 pieces of game. My Costa Rican colleague, who is ~~very~~ handy with firearms, ~~he~~ killed the highest number. I should imagine I was next, but none of us greatly distinguished himself for accurate marksmanship.

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I drove back in the dark to Hamm and took the train to Mehlem.
It was an enjoyable day.

Sunday, December 8, 1957

To the office in the morning. Sasha and I had a long walk in the rain this afternoon and afterwards I sat up late reading material for a speech I have to make Tuesday to the Foreign Press Association, attending to personal matters, and writing a recommendation for promotion to the rank of Career Minister on behalf of Trimble.

Monday, December 9, 1957

We had a report today about possible penetration of the Embassy by the DDR Secret Service. This is being investigated. Those said to be involved are German women employees, none of them occupying a sensitive position. The gallant informer, who was picked up in Berlin, is a member of the DDR Security Services and, amongst other names, has given those of two of his girl friends whom apparently he alternately sleeps with, but unknown to each other. Everyone is denying everything, which may well be true, since the Berlin gent is a "spotter" rather than a recruiter.

Ruffner and others came to talk to me about the transfer of the four air bases to the German Air Force, which we shall carry out on Saturday of this week in a ceremony at Erding.

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Tonight we went to a concert conducted by Andor Foldes with the Bonn Orchestra. He is a naturalized American, I should imagine of Hungarian birth, as is his wife. He is not only a conductor but a pianist of great talent. They played selections from Beethoven, and the proceeds of the concert are to go for the rehabilitation of the Beethoven House here. It was an excellent performance, with many encores. Foldes is a portly fellow, ~~and~~ so animated were his gyrations that he was literally streaming with sweat. We had a gay interview with him after the concert.

Tuesday, December 10, 1957

I finished preparing a speech this morning for the Foreign Press Association and was its guest at a lunch presided over by its President, Dr. Luchzinger, at the Embassy Club. I talked more or less as follows, with quite a few interpolations and additions.

(Text follows on page 124)

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ADDRESS GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR DAVID BRUCE
AT LUNCHEON MEETING OF
FOREIGN PRESS ASSOCIATION
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1957

Last night I attended a concert in Bonn, conducted by the talented Andor Foldes, at which selections from the works of Beethoven were admirably played. I could not but think, during the recital, of the marvelous way in which the genius of man had succeeded in bringing discordant notes into harmonious and beautiful strains of music. Yet in political affairs, the inability of nations to compose their differences constitutes a disharmony that would be insufferable to any art-loving audience.

The United Nations has recently passed a resolution on disarmament, which, abridged, calls for a first-step disarmament plan to provide:

1. Immediate suspension of nuclear weapons testing with prompt installation of effective international control.
2. Cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, and complete devotion of future production to non-weapons purposes under effective international control.
3. Internationally supervised reduction of nuclear weapons stocks through equitable and reciprocal transfer to non-weapons uses.
4. Armed forces and armaments reductions through adequate safeguarded arrangements.
5. Progressive establishment of aerial and ground inspection systems to guard against surprise attack.

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6. Joint study of an inspection system designed "to ensure that outer space objects will be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes."

Ever since I have been in Germany, I have heard discussions, and projects proposed, on both sides of the Atlantic, for relieving or diminishing international tensions. The areas where they exist cover such a vast geographic panorama as, for example, Formosa in the Far East, Syria, Israel and others in the Middle East, and a divided Germany in the West.

But it seems to me that too little attention has been paid to the most dangerous tension of all - that bred by man's conquest of some of the secrets of nuclear fission. In the past, when crises occurred, somehow humankind (at times with excruciating pain) muddled through. Now we are facing an element where muddling will not suffice, if we are to escape being destroyed by it. Several fables will readily present themselves in this connection to your recollection. In pagan days, when the Gods warned men not to look upon, or covet, forbidden things, and they were disobeyed, retribution was swift. The offender might be transformed into a grotesque animal, or, if allowed to keep his natural shape, condemned to an eternity of loathsome toil, unless he were more mercifully stricken by an unerring thunderbolt, or turned into decorative statuary.

I hesitate to talk to you about atomic disarmament. I am an ignorant layman in this complicated field. Nevertheless, the subject is of such vast, perhaps supreme, importance, that I shall venture some brief reflections

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on it.

I fear those of us who have assumed that atomic disarmament could be achieved easily, if nations concerned would enter into solemn treaty obligations, have been over-credulous and unrealistic. Not long since, when powers agreed to scrap certain categories of war equipment and to observe fixed limitations on military strength, the policing of the compact was, if the will existed, relatively simple. Today, we are dealing with an elusive, unpredictable product of scientists' as yet partial penetration of nature's many mysteries. Moreover, this material of which we speak is destructive beyond the grasp of our imaginations. Harnessed to peaceful uses, it opens broad vistas of blessing; diverted to deadly purposes, it may well be capable of annihilating the essential fabric of civilization.

Each new development in this domain accentuates the problem, and renders more difficult its solution. What is now still finite may become infinite.

So much for preface. I will now deal with facts. As you all know, disarmament has been for years a subject of international negotiation. The Western position, expounded by the U. S. , U. K. , France and Canada, was presented in detail last summer in London to the UN Sub-Commission on Disarmament of which Soviet Russia was a member. I should like to call your attention to a summary of the most salient proposals made by both sides. The Soviets (I speak only of atomic disarmament, for everything else is subordinate

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to it) maintained an insistence on the cessation of tests, but without coupling with it an agreement to stop production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, and inspection procedures to safeguard these undertakings.

The Allied counter-proposal was less simple in appearance, and certainly less suited for propaganda purposes amongst peoples conditioned to fear of fallout. Periodically, shibboleths, catch phrases, and slogans engage the public imagination. It would have been surprising if the idea of atmospheric contamination, and its effects on human beings, had not excited the fears of the average person everywhere. Dr. Schweitzer, with his almost unparalleled prestige, but without current technical knowledge, contributed to the prevailing confusion from his fastness in Africa. It required little imagination on the part of an individual to feel the marrow of his bones threatened to the point of dissolution, his genes imperiled, and his descendants, if any, menaced with being born idiots or even monsters.

It was, and perhaps may still be, idle to argue that these possibilities are not as serious as represented. Today, our systems successfully absorb enough poisons to make us marvel at our own resistance. Specialists gravely point to the X-raying of teeth, lungs, or other bodily organs as being more dangerous, on a cumulative basis, than exposures to emanations from nuclear devices. Of course, if war should occur, a single fissionable bomb, or projectile, would subject its recipients to a chemical devastation compared with which the permeations from peacetime experiments would seem benign.

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Within the compass of a short meeting like ours today, one cannot sound the depths of this topic, so without any reference to the comparative perils of those who have sniffed an air tainted by lethal particles, and those who have frequented radio-active baths, famous since Roman times, let us pass on from the subject of fallout to that of its progenitor, the material from which it derives.

I now refer to the so-called package deal offered in London by the Western members of the UN Committee on Disarmament, approved by NATO and endorsed by the UN. In a restricted sense, eliminating conventional and space weapons, our proposition was that we would suspend nuclear tests for a long period, provided there should also be an early cessation of the manufacture of nuclear components for military use, under an international system of control and inspection.

To treat these two questions in isolation is naive. A suspension of tests would not only diminish the chances of discovering ways by which clean weapons could be produced, with a consequent diminution of the harmful effects of fallout and of the limitation of their employment to military objectives, but would additionally preclude the development of a variety of weapons springing from further scientific ingenuity. An agreement to give up testing presupposes its observance in utter good faith by all parties thereto, and also assumes that tests, large and small, will forever remain detectable, a perilous assumption.

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But, if it were agreed that a cut-off date for the further production of fissionable arms were shortly to follow a stoppage of tests, one could cherish a modicum of optimism. True, there would remain large amounts of fearsome munitions under the jurisdiction of at least two countries. But they have already passed beyond many of the constraints of control. Outside this very building, in which we have so pleasantly eaten, a buried fissionable bomb could be hidden so effectively as to defy identification. Once animated, its capacity to annihilate, by blast and by poisoning, a tremendous area of the Rhine Valley, and much beyond, is indisputable. Indeed, I would deem it criminal if the Governments of the Western Nations were ever to trust to the documented undertakings of certain other Governments to surrender all their existing stockpiles of an atomic character. Nor, given the suspicious instincts of the Soviet ruling class, would I expect them to confide their national destiny to written instruments of this sort. Therefore, we are faced with the necessity for a compromise, where the ability to use these weapons in case of dire necessity will subsist, at least for the present.

The very idea of inspection runs counter to the traditions and deep-seated prejudices of the Russians. Yet without freedom, accorded to qualified international teams of technical inspectors, to survey possible violations of agreements, control is a meaningless word, signifying nothing substantial.

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Here is the heart of the matter. I shall not dwell on it, except to remark that the issue is urgent. If not speedily resolved, there will be no peace in our time, and perhaps none in the future. Shall it be said that men, faced with their own annihilation, are incapable of avoiding such a fate? That is the question.

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Afterwards, there were a good many questions, some of them barbed, but ~~they~~ not too difficult to answer. However, I refused to comment on George Kennan's proposal, made in his recent Reith lectures at Oxford, on the neutralization of Germany and the withdrawal of Allied and Soviet troops from Germany and the satellite countries. I said I entertained some personal views on the subject but had no information on American policy regarding it. In years past, George Kennan had talked to me about his idea. I agree it is the only possibility, under present circumstances, of reuniting Germany, but think the consequences would be highly undesirable, certainly at this time, even if the Soviets would accept it without demanding further concessions. It would almost surely mean the dissolution of NATO, amongst other repercussions.

Edelman, one of the Directors of the Benjamin Franklin Stiftung, visited me this afternoon to tell me the Foundation's plan the transfer of title to the Congress Hall in Berlin to the authorities. This event is proposed for the end of April, and to have as speakers on the occasion Winston Churchill, Pearson, and other luminaries.

Tonight we dined with the Netherlands Ambassador and Madame Lamping. There were a lot of guests, including the Venezuelan and African Ambassadors and their wives, and several young and

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attractive couples from other embassies.

Wednesday, December 11, 1957

Frau Prittwitz, Frau Heilmann and Edgar Hanfstaengle came from Munich to talk to me about a speech I am scheduled to make to the Gesellschaft fuer Auslandskunde on January 20. We settled on the theme of "The Problem of Disarmament".

I went to see Kit Steel this afternoon. He continues to be concerned over the question of British support costs. The recent meeting in London between the British and Brentano resulted in a stalemate on this subject, and it has now been referred to NATO. The amount involved is 50 million pounds, although the British would probably accept less. When I was in Washington, I pleaded again for a speedy decision on the part of our Government as to whether we intended to ask for such contributions from the FedRep for the next fiscal year. Until we have decided one way or the other on this count, the German Government can hardly be expected to make a final determination in the British case. I now understand the whole matter may be taken up in Paris between Eisenhower, Macmillan and Adenauer. The President, having been pronounced by his physicians to be in satisfactory physical condition, is due to arrive in Paris on Saturday.

Steel told me about the arrangement in the British Government for briefing the Permanent Representative to NATO. In his case, this

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had ordinarily been done by Sammy Hood, whose chief duty in the Foreign Office this was. But, in addition, there was a small committee, unlisted in official registers, composed of the Permanent Under Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, the Under Secretary of Defense, the Under Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, supplemented by representatives of other agencies when appropriate, to whom Steel could refer questions he considered of sufficient importance and to whom he had ready access. In addition, he made a practice of going to London at least once a month to keep in touch with those there most directly concerned with NATO affairs. He recognizes the difficulty of our Permanent Representative following the same procedure, but believes he should return to Washington at least once every three months. I feel, as I explained to Foster, that something along the lines of this British backstop would be ~~very~~ useful in our case. Our chief handicap lies in the long distance separating our seat of Government from Paris. However, the character of our representation is the most important thing. Here we are faced with the choice between a Foreign Service Officer or political appointee. Seldom does a Foreign Service Officer have direct and easy communication with the President or Secretary of State. On the other hand, where this exists in the case of a political appointee, even if he be a man of national standing and also influential, as is desirable, with

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Congress, he may be so inexperienced or ill-informed on foreign policy as to render his services of little use. If an ex-Cabinet Officer or an ex-Presidential candidate like Adlai Stevenson were put in this position, there might be certain advantages, provided always he were entirely loyal to instructions from the Administration at home, and would not wash any dirty political linen in public.

This subject will not down. The Germans at least are resolved to push it hard next week. I think we are disposed, within reasonable limitations, to go rather far in enlarging our participation in political consultations at NATO. But the mechanics necessary to carry out such an undertaking remain undeveloped.

Thursday, December 12, 1957

Mr. Heegard, the German representative of the Committee of Migration, with a letter of introduction from Harold Tittmann, came to see me. He had expected to solicit my help in working out a contribution for the organization in Geneva from the German Government. Assisted by Francis Cunningham, he worked this out satisfactorily during my visit to Washington.

Countess Dönhoff and Gretel and Johan Beyen came to lunch with us. The Countess has been writing columns lately in her Hamburg paper displaying great anxiety about the advances made by the Soviets in the missile and space fields. Beyen is finishing his negotiations here

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on behalf of Holland with the German Government for an adjustment of their last war problems. He is then going as Ambassador to France to replace Pim Boetzahler, who is retiring. She is Viennese and absolutely charming. I knew them first during EDC days when he was Foreign Minister.

Defense Secretary McElroy, General Lemnitzer, General Palmer and Brigadier General Randall arrived in the office about three o'clock. We had a good talk before, shepherded by Nick Ruffner, we went to call on Minister Strauss. McElroy was received with honors and the playing of the two national anthems. After much photography, the Defense Ministers exchanged views, more or less represented by my rough notes.

(Notes begin on page 136)

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STRAUSS: Cable from Blankenhorn. Questions of stationing rockets and missiles are to be discussed - though not in detail - in NATO Conference. Chancellor has asked me to obtain reply from you.

McELROY: We intend to do so, have been consistent in desiring this.

STRAUSS: I have one problem that is 50% military, 50% political. We have in the past felt we had NATO concept founded on belief NATO had sufficient power to meet or to deter, with outside help of course, a global war. But now there is question of a local war. Therefore, there are two possibilities. We are a little worried as to what might be considered local incidents. Should be made clear in forthcoming conference that any attack against NATO will be immediately met with the whole force at disposition of NATO. U.S.A. leadership and restatement is needed.

McELROY: This is serious subject and will be raised in Paris. It seems to me that my reaffirmation of U.S. attitude in the sensitive area of West Berlin is something of an answer. I hope this will be elaborated upon at the Conference.

STRAUSS: We shall propose a full integration of offensive and defensive NATO air forces. We should have a study of integrated air forces. There is too much duplication and inefficiency.

McELROY: This falls naturally within the general scope of interdependence of NATO countries. There are many steps that would have to be taken in connection with a survey of the problem.

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McELROY: I would expect the principle for this to be laid

STRAUSS: Integration of logistics. Present system anachron-

McELROY: This presents difficulties. Who will finance these

STRAUSS: For us, certain reserves must be located beyond

McELROY: There should be made a beginning.

STRAUSS: We propose a common fund for financing our require-

McELROY: We already have in NATO common methods of financ-

STRAUSS: Standardization of weapons. Almost nothing important

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advice.

Last month everyone was impressed by Sputniks I and II, and before that by the ICBM. We don't think we should be too much impressed by this Soviet progress. After all, NATO represents more than 440 million people, but have we made full use of their skills, etc.? By gathering all the spiritual material and technical capacities of all the NATO allies, we should be superior. We would save manpower and money by approaching this together.

More of the same, well expressed. British and French have been urging us to buy prototype planes, and finance future development. They say we would not be good Europeans unless we bought from them. We would prefer to buy U.S. planes already in production, and, under license, manufacture more ourselves.

McELROY: Fuzzed up the answer quite properly.

STRAUSS: Should be a stockpiling of what is available in each NATO country, not confined just to aircraft.

McELROY: I think we should not be disappointed if stocktaking does not move very fast from rational apportionment to a common endeavor. We are committed to competition in industrial and commercial areas, and believe this works best for consumers. However, we agree with you we must compromise in certain respects, for instance in weapons production and scientific research.

STRAUSS: Chancellor will advocate:

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I. Naming of a scientific and technical adviser (an American) with headquarters in Paris, to

II. To set up a scientific and technical committee of perhaps 30 persons in Europe to give guidance on education of scientists, development of new weapons, and to apply themselves to other matters of mutual interest.

Military problems change, but most essential problem is for us not to lose our self-confidence and faith in our allies. We must overcome an existing measure of mistrust by utilizing all our resources.

Our new military plans announced last year will be carried out. Seven divisions by first of April 1958. We will furnish 12 divisions. There will be 12 combat-ready divisions by end of 1960 or beginning of 1961.

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I was ~~very~~ favorably impressed by McElroy. He seems ~~very~~ quick, has delightful manners, and I have never heard anyone speak ill of him. His predecessor, Charlie Wilson, was not one of my favorites.

Friday, December 13, 1957

I read this morning Mike Handler's article in the New York Times of Wednesday, December 11, about my speech on Tuesday to the Foreign Press Association. It seems to have kicked up some controversy in Washington. Ernie Wiener, who was present at the meeting, called me from Paris and said he had been questioned about it there, so I decided to send a copy of it to him, as well as one to Chris Herter. The interpretation given by Handler implied I was in favor of any nation or group of nations trying to get a consideration of atomic disarmament re-launched in case the Russians did not take any initiative since their suspension of the talks. Mike came to lunch with me today, and I think the explanation I have given to inquiries will be satisfactory.

Professor Guyan of the Schaffhausen Museum in Switzerland, attracted by the showing of the Guggenheim Collection to take place in Cologne in January, called on me at the request of the Swiss Ambassador, to ask that it be displayed later in the Schaffhausen Museum. I told him I would write a personal letter to Harry

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Guggenheim on the subject, but he should take it up through his Ambassador in Washington.

Walter Bogie, the News Editor of the American Forces Network, interviewed me on tape this afternoon about my activities of one sort or another. This is to be broadcast later on during a fifteen minute period.

The new Argentine Ambassador, Gomez, came to call. He ~~was~~ *was* ~~was~~ a student in his youthful days at the University of Berlin, (where his father was Minister) and had known my brother in Buenos Aires.

Ernie Leiser of CBS came to see me.

I left tonight on the train for Munich.

Saturday, December 14, 1957

We arrived at Erding at 9:30 this morning and ran plumb into the largest honor ceremonies I have attended since I have been in Germany. National U. S. and German anthems, long files of German soldiers and airmen, high brass all over the place. We all mounted a stand and, after consuming a few quarts of coffee apiece, made speeches celebrating the establishment of the German Air Forces Second Transport Squadron and the transfer of command of the four air bases of Erding, Fuerstenfeldbruck, Landsberg, and Kaufbeuren

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between conversations and negotiations. I can see no objection and much merit, for example, to our, as well as any other nation to whom the recent Bulganin letters were addressed, commissioning our respective Ambassadors, if we so desired, to go to the Soviet Foreign Office individually and ask for an elucidation of certain points mentioned in his communications. By searching out Soviet intentions through diplomatic channels in conversation, we would commit neither ourselves nor anyone else to a position to be taken if negotiations were later entered upon.

Tonight we had dinner with the Rotters in their attractive house in Bonn. Rotter claims he has about 30 rabbits in his garden and wanted me to stay behind for a shoot by flashlight. I did not find the idea appealing as it was snowing. They had about 20 or 25 people, including the Portuguese and Brazilian Ambassadors, and a bevy of beautiful young German and Austrian women. It was gay. The Rotters have been transferred to Paris and are going there toward the end of March. They will be much missed here.

Wednesday, December 18, 1957

The new Ambassador from Tunisia, Ben Ammar called on me. Many of the Tunisians I have met in the past were attractive people, as is he. He must have been educated in France; he speaks perfect French. Before coming here, he had served in Rome. He

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spoke of the affection he personally had for French culture and his admiration of many of the things France had done for his country in the past. He felt the U. S. had no choice but to have acted as it and Great Britain did in connection with the supplying of small quantities of arms for internal security purposes. Of course, he entertains a great respect for Bourguiba.

He says within a few months the new Tunisian Constitution will go into effect. According to him, it is modelled along the lines of the Constitution of the United States. Bourguiba, he related, had no desire to sever the close connections between Tunisia and France, but feels a settlement of the Algerian troubles is necessary if France is to retain its affiliations with the North African countries. Bourguiba is in his early 50's, but his health is bad because of the many years he spent in prison.

I spent considerable time this afternoon talking over the so-called East Zone projects.

Monsieur Francois Leduc, new Minister-Counselor of the French Embassy, came to see me this afternoon. He has had much past experience in Germany. I ~~had known~~^{know} him years ago in France when he was a Foreign Office representative at meetings with their Ministry of Defense officials. I recall him as having been alert and intelligent.

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(5) What new tactics are the Soviets likely to pursue in establishing the "sovereignty" of the "German Democratic Republic"?

We went off at 8:30 this morning by train with Dave Thomson to Aachen, where we had been invited by Mayor Heusch. He met us at the station and then we went to the Rathaus where we joined his wife and some of his staff. Everything was informal. Even when I signed the Golden Book, there were only a couple of photographers present. This building is fascinating. It was almost entirely destroyed during the last war and is now being restored to its former state. The pictures of its condition in 1945 are almost incredible as contrasted with its condition today. The top story is a huge banquet hall where the Merovingian kings entertained their notables. Set in the pavement are plaques representing the positions of various rulers such as the King of Bohemia.

From the Rathaus we went to the Cathedral. It seemed to me the most interesting church historically I have ever seen. The original part, executed to the orders of Charlemagne - I suppose about 800 AD -

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is ~~like~~ like one of the churches in Ravenna, demonstrating a strong Byzantine influence. In the West gallery, there still exists a marble chair from which Charlemagne viewed religious ceremonies. The Gothic nave of the church is magnificent. In it are examples of work in silver gilt and gold such as I cannot believe are to be seen elsewhere. We visited the treasury. Here again one was dumfounded by the realization that such objects of value and beauty had escaped being looted during the many years of their existence, some of them being over one thousand years old. There was much fine silver gilt with encrustations of precious and semi-precious stones. Aix la Chapelle had a high reputation centuries ago for the artistic productions of its goldsmiths and silversmiths. It is only about three miles from the Belgian border, and was for hundreds of years a famous spa. The Empress Josephine resided there for a time, and some furniture sent up from Paris by Napoleon is still in the Gothic part of the Cathedral, the inspiration of which derives in part from Sainte Chapelle in Paris.

Hausch and his wife are delightful people. They have six children, three of whom are graduates of American universities. He speaks admirable English and French, and she is fluent in both languages.

We had a wonderful lunch at the Kur Hotel Quellenhof, owned

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Handler considered that, although President Eisenhower's prestige at Paris was paramount, Chancellor Adenauer ~~was~~ played the principal role in transforming the Atlantic Alliance from a purely military organization into a political, military and economic system. No admirer of the Chancellor on many subjects of policy, Mike considers him an extraordinarily effective statesman and personality.

Later in the afternoon, Walter Hallstein came to see me. He is leaving tomorrow for a two-weeks' vacation. He said the Chancellor had been in great form in Paris and ~~was~~ thoroughly enjoyed himself. Hallstein considered the Conference to have been a marked success. The Chancellor is going to take things easy for a couple of weeks, but there is nothing fundamentally wrong with his health. Walter said everyone was amazed, as Handler had also reported, over President Eisenhower's display of vigor. He spoke also of the tremendous impression of sincerity he ~~was~~ conveyed to the members of the Council in his opening speech, and of the unique prestige he still enjoys in Europe. He said there was a considerable measure of distrust of Dulles in certain European countries but, as far as German officials were concerned, they thought ~~very~~ highly of him.

Sunday, December 22, 1957

I spent the morning at the office and got off the following telegram:

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birthday on January 5. Strauss is in Bavaria. The Foreign Office is skeletonized. Brentano and Hallstein are on vacation, von Welck is Acting Foreign Minister until December 27, when he will be replaced by Professor Grewe. We have informed the Department it is unlikely that any decisions of importance will or can be made in the next couple of weeks.

Morrie Helitzer of McGraw Hill Publications came to see me. He thinks the Germans may pursue diplomatic conversations through Ambassador Lahr's mission with the Soviet Foreign Office, taking as an excuse the opening offered by Bulganin's letter. He personally believes similar conversations should be engaged in by representatives of other addressee nations regarding the proposal for an atom free zone. Like Coblentz, he thinks there would be no harm in discussing this. Coblentz entertains what seems to me the dangerous theory that the neutralization of Germany would not necessarily destroy the NATO alliance or its military efficacy if intermediate and long-range Allied missiles were based elsewhere in Europe. This argument under present conditions appears to me ~~untenable~~ untenable and not worthy of serious consideration until such time as it has been determined where such missiles will be based and until we have them ready for delivery and use. Helitzer does not go that far, but is thinking of using the neutralized zone as the opening gambit to

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revive the over-all disarmament issue.

Kennan's speeches and gloomy comments on the futility of the NATO Conference have brought the propositions of a thinning-out of military forces in Europe and of a neutralization of Germany (and the satellite countries) into public notice again. Convinced and half-hearted neutralists have ^{rallied} ~~reacted~~ to the standard and we shall hear much of it. The Chancellor has denounced this as being unrealistic. Some Germans believe the situation created by acceptance of this scheme would result, within a few years, in the extreme left and right wing elements in Germany joining to assume governmental control.

At any rate, I feel certain, under present circumstances at least, we should firmly oppose any such course. If U. S. troops were to be withdrawn to the other side of the Rhine and the German military contribution cancelled out, we would be hard put to it to sustain our NATO commitments when we had abandoned the bases on which its military strategy has been founded. Under such conditions, I do not believe the public at home and the American Congress would maintain military forces of any consequence in Europe.

There were a great many office parties this afternoon. At some, eggnog was served, at others, different types of refreshment. The Agricultural Attaché invited us to consume "surplus products", included in which were American turkey and Bourbon whisky.

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was a large group, and, counting Berlin and the eight members of the train crew, there are about forty persons to be noticed in one way or another. The Germans have an intense Christmas spirit, and they seemed quite touched by our little attentions. The people in the house gave E pretty flowers, and toys to the children.

At five we went with the children to church. It was jammed, and the interior beautiful in candlelight. There were carols in two languages, a sermon, many hymns, and much reading from the Scriptures. From time to time babies wailed, and small boys broke into altercations. But it was a rewarding service, well conducted by the Reverend Hammer.

E. went to a cocktail party - I have given them up entirely - and returned home poisoned by a tired paté. We had, as we always do on Christmas Eve, our dinner alone on a table in the library; not much to eat and drink except smoked salmon and vodka. We opened our presents, and things were fine until E became more and more ill. I went to the third floor to sleep or keep an eye on the kids; we had a little party for Yolande last night, and she left early this morning to spend the holidays with her family, so they may be expected to be more rambunctious than ordinarily.

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Wednesday, December 25, 1957

All went well until four a.m. when three excited offspring demanded to open some of the presents. They did so; and went back to bed an hour later. This respite lasted until eight, when their mother rallied from her ghastly condition, and we turned them loose in the room, so long locked, which represented in their eyes a treasure chamber. David emerged clad as a miniature army colonel, Sasha on a full-size bicycle, and Nicky quite beyond himself with a sort of walkie-talkie set.

We went before lunch for a drink with the Ruffners who had their son, daughter-in-law, grandchild and a couple of lonely army privates with them.

David Thomson lunched with us. We walked in the spring-like sunshine. The garden is stripped, but we saw two rabbits who eluded the puppies by saving themselves through the boundary fence.

Our departure tonight at the Mehlem station was like that of an Eighteenth Century family starting on the Grand Tour. There were boxes of wine and cigars for Christmas presents, crates of flowers, four dogs and baskets, mountains of baggage and impedimenta, and a hullabaloo of screaming, yelling, laughter and lamentation. The Sergeant was dressed as Santa Claus and gave me a bottle of gin. The train crew members were charming. By midnight our family

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and the other passengers were bedded down, and rolling toward Berlin.

Thursday, December 26, 1957

This is a general German holiday, so all offices, including our own, are closed. The temperature is mild, there is no snow, the sky is dirty. We were happy to be again in the Berlin house. The puppies, stinking to high heaven, had conducted themselves continently on the train, but once released had to be followed with mops until diverted into the garden. All the dogs in the neighborhood began baying, and the man next door had to add a section to his fence to keep his fierce shepherd dog from devouring our harmless spaniels.

Studied German and played softball with the children this afternoon, until Martin Hillenbrand came to see me. Nothing but trouble. Tomorrow, according to intelligence reports, the GDR will exercise the right of granting visas for all traffic through the East Zone. Logistically, our Embassies in Moscow and Warsaw are supplied from Berlin. A circuitous route will have to be followed, probably via Finland, if this event takes place. We will refuse to receive the GDR note on the matter, but will have to bend to the wind, once instructions have been put into effect.

Martin is a superior man, the mainstay of this Mission.

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changing this system. It is within the competence of the Allied authorities to refuse to do so. Faced with an election in January, and his party already split, his voice has become more strident on the subject. Once the U. S. Government was in favor of such a measure, but now we, like the British and French, are opposed, on the ground that certainly at this time we want no fundamental alterations in the Berlin set-up, with the Soviets and GDR already challenging us at almost every turn.

I had a lunch at the house today for the following:

Seymour Topping, Chief, AP Bureau, Berlin
Reinhold Ensz, Reporter, AP
John Rich, Reporter, NBC
Joseph Fleming, UP
Russell Hill, RFE
Melvin Lasky, Ed, Der Monat
Ed de Fontaine, AFN
Harry Gilroy, NY Times
Laurence Dalcher, Director, RIAS
Martin Hillenbrand
Don Hall, Acting Chief USIS, Berlin
Howard Trivers, Chief, Eastern Affairs Division
Robert Brandin, Chief, Economic Affairs Division.

We sat at table until 3:30. Most of them were in favor of bilateral diplomatic conversations between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R., even if they never led to serious negotiations. (A secret telegram, in today from Thompson in Moscow, reports the Soviet officials harp on the desirability of such bilateral discussions). Melvin Lasky is intrigued by the Kennan lectures, and seemed inclined to

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missive was left by an anonymous messenger this afternoon when the Consulate was closed. Similar messages, in a similar manner, were deposited with the British and French.

The letter stated that, beginning January 1, 1958, the issuance of visas for American holders of Diplomatic and Special passports will be done by the GDR, and entry into and transit through the German Democratic Republic will only be possible upon presentation of a valid visa granted by the GDR.

It went on to say that traffic between the Federal Republic and West Berlin of troop personnel and goods of the garrisons of the U. S. A. stationed in West Berlin is exempted from this regulation.

This procedure will probably force us to supply our missions in Warsaw and Moscow via Copenhagen, Helsinki, or even Vienna.

Martin Hillenbrand came to see me this evening, and we drew up various telegrams and possible press releases. He has been in touch, in a highly efficient way, with his British and French colleagues. Neither of us can judge whether the Soviets will narrowly interpret the remarks about troop personnel and garrison goods. I imagine there may be a considerable breating spell before Colonel Kotsiuba drops further hints in this respect.

Sunday, December 29, 1957

We had word back from the Department this morning, telling

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us to hold firm; U. S. officials will not present passports for GDR visas. The news of the GDR letter did not hit the West Berlin morning papers, but was in the East Berlin press. By noon, American correspondents had latched onto the story, and were making inquiries.

I had a number of talks with Martin today, and we prepared further papers. Harry Gilroy, of the New York Times, came out to the house this afternoon, and we talked foreign policy in large terms. He thinks the GDR Government will eventually have to be recognized de facto, because of the inevitable relationships the Federal Republic must have with it. He believes we should explore, through diplomatic channels, any proposal made by the Soviets, including one, for example, embodying the principles of the Kennan plan, even though we were determined never to negotiate on it.

E and I went to Mike Todd's "Around the World in Eighty Days", dubbed in German. I thought it three and a half hours of delight. David Niven looked as handsome and fit as when I first saw him in London in 1940 as a young British officer - one of the first, if not the only, Hollywood star at that time to return home and join up.

Monday, December 30, 1957

At the office all day. Pushkin being away, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires sent me a note confirming the GDR action on visas. Lots

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to arrange a meeting for him with the FonMin and three Allied Ambassadors, but no date had been set for it. I told him I had not been approached about such an arrangement.

Brandt spoke of the history of non-voting rights in Parliament for Berlin representatives. He thought they should have opportunity to cast votes on internal laws affecting Berlin. Soviets would not object since they are only interested in Berliners not participating in foreign affairs and defense matters.

He said other possibility would be internal arrangement between FedRep and Berlin, not requiring allied approval that in Bundesrat in cases where Berliner vote would determine majority it should be allowed.

END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

SENT TO DEPARTMENT 770 RPTD INFO BONN 709
FOR ELEANOR DULLES FROM BRUCE

Talked with Brandt today about hospital. He was interested and will make rough estimate of costs for various sizes founded on experience derived from 600 bed hospital now under construction; will also consider maintenance problem. I was careful to say this was only an idea and we could make no rpt no commitment whatever as to eventual decision. He thought best procedure was to take what

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data might be useful to Washington in February and be prepared for discussions there. Afterwards, if project was to be seriously contemplated, a small American survey team should be sent here. I agree with him that it would not be useful to have survey made meanwhile. END QUOTE

Rich of NBC spent an hour with me this afternoon. I like him,
~~_____~~

Tonight we dined with the Barksdale Hamletts. It was Ham's 49th birthday. The others were Major General Rome, Commanding British Headquarters Berlin and his Deputy, Commander Peck, with their wives, the Hillenbrands, General Duncan, Commanding Officer of our Berlin Command, and his wife.

General Hamlett's house, to which he succeeded when he replaced General Dasher, is a huge horror. It was finished in 1914 for a rich Berlin banker, and looks as if every resource had been employed to transform as much money as possible into masonry, marble, and ornate decoration. The fireplaces run almost to the heavily stuccoed ceilings. There are mosaic bathrooms, gilded bronze doors, heavy walnut panelling, false Louis XV and XVI furniture, tremendous Japanese vases, cabinets of porcelain figurines, bad landscape paintings; in fact, there is scarcely an object in it selected with taste. Mrs. Hamlett detests it.

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The banker backed Hitler and recanted too late. His house was requisitioned. He died, and the present owner, his son, lives in Hamburg.

Tuesday, December 31, 1957

To the office early. There was a stream of telegrams bearing on the GDR announcement, and calls from newspaper men. By mid-afternoon, business ^{having} been disposed of, ~~we~~ E and I went to one of the few moving picture theatres open today, to see Gary Cooper, Audrey Hepburn and Maurice Chevalier in "Ariane". It was light and amusing, Gary looking an old and tired philanderer, and la Hepburn very appealing.

David and Nicky ^{took} ~~took~~ advantage of our absence to violate all their promises of good behavior and, short of turning the puppies into the street, had done their best in the way of disobedience.

It was not a happy prelude to our New Year's Eve family dinner.

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